



The BLACKS taking Messrs. JENKINS and LOWELLIN by surprise.



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THE  
ADMIRABLE  
TRAVELS

OF MESSIEURS  
THOMAS JENKINS  
AND  
DAVID LOWELLIN

Through the *K*

Unknown TRACTS of AFRICA;

With the Manner how LOWELLIN lived eight Years on an uninhabited Spot; and having sustained many dangerous Attacks from the wild Beasts and Savages, returned safe to London, in September, 1791, after having been a eleven Years in those extensive Regions.

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LONDON: Printed from the original Manuscript, in May, 1792, by the Author's Consent, for the Benefit of ROBERT BARKER.

[Price Six-pence.]



## LIVES, VOYAGES, and TRAVELS,

OF MESSRS.

THOMAS JENKINS and DAVID LOWELLIN.

**I**, DAVID LOWELLIN, was born near the spot where the castle of Metraville once stood, in the county of Montgomery, anno 1736. I removed thence, with my parents, to an hereditary estate of their own, situate between Aberystwith and Cardigan, on the sea-coast, when about three years old; and, having a full prospect of the vessels passing up and down the channel from my father's door, my early attention was from time to time engrossed by, and frequent enquiries were made concerning, them; which increased as my ideas opened, till they became troublesome, and often difficult for those near me to answer; which raised in me a desire of seeing those fine cities, towns, and countries, I so frequently heard magnified by servants and others daily conversant with me, whose delight was to explain such innocent enquiries to my satisfaction, whether truly acquainted with the subject or not; as some, who had never been twenty miles from the spot, would, from hearsay alone, entertain me with various relations of many distant parts, adding plausible embellishments to excite my wonder; whereof my indulgent parents approved, without reflecting on the impression it made on my tender mind, till I had imbibed such inclinations for going to sea as could not afterwards be removed, though never intended for it by my parents, who, having no other children, were both so extremely fond of me as to gratify my desire in almost every point; and, frequently hearing me express an inclination for going abroad, they jointly consented for me to visit Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, and Bristol, with Captain Jones and his son Griffith, my school-fellow, who had been several trips at sea before.

This youth was of a rambling disposition, and filled my head with such idle notions of the empires, kingdoms, nations, valuable commodities, and riches, of the globe, confirming all he said as really true, that I was brought to believe him, through seeing the numerous shipping, docks, and merchants yards, with the  
elegant

elegant streets, squares, and magnificent structures, contained in those cities. I returned from this voyage at the latter end of October, 1751, after having been full three months absent from my parents, who received me with inexpressible joy, thinking it would be the last I should ever make, having consented thereto purely to gratify my curiosity, without suspecting that I should have any such like request to make in future; and, when they found me so determined to continue traversing the rugged element, their grief became inconceivably great, and increased with reflecting on their indulgent conduct, for not suppressing it in time, by properly checking servants on every occasion, which they knew had been totally neglected; and, perceiving it to originate from their over-fondness of me, a return to Montgomeryshire was proposed, and accordingly took place, in May, 1752, to a house nearly surrounded with hills and woods, plentifully stocked with game, and situate near the banks of the Virnew, thinking to wear it from my thoughts by other amusements, namely, by fishing, fowling, setting, cards, dice, music, dancing, with suitable company. Never was proper advice wanting, or more pains taken with less success; every proposal tending towards the establishment of my future peace being unhappily considered by me as detrimental to it; for, being unable to procure leave to set out, I most indiscreetly threw off that filial duty which I ought to have holden most dear, and took 120 pounds sterling out of my father's scrutoire, and therewith decamped by night disguised in a waterman's habit. I arrived at Landerinye before daylight, whence I got a passage to Worcester city in a barge laden with timber, and thence to Bristol in a trow belonging to Brosely; and there took passage for Cork, where I arrived on the first of March, 1754, just fifteen days after I left my father's house, being in the eighteenth year of my age.

So intent was I on going I know not whither, that I indented myself for three years servitude with the commander of a snow belonging to Liverpool, who assisted me in the purchase of proper necessaries for the voyage, and took me on board the vessel, being then laden with provisions for the West-Indies; to whose people I instantly became subservient, but could not reconcile my hands to the eordage, which in a few days made them so extremely sore, that I could not hold fast enough to prevent myself from dropping off the sprit-sail yard into such a rapid tide as instantly waisted me a long-side; which the captain observing, he jumped into the boat and drew me out by the hair, just time enough to save me from perishing. This providential delivery from the jaws of death, in such an instant of time, brought me to reflect on the disobedient conduct shewn to the best of parents, in leav-

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leaving them as I had done, placing their inconsolable discontent in colours I had not before thought of; nay, every fault I had been guilty of accused me of truly meriting all the punishment which the just vengeance of heaven thought proper to inflict. In this situation of mind I proposed to send a letter to my parents, in order to crave their pardon, as also of making my case known to the worthy commander. But this laudable design was overruled by a ridiculous notion of being jeered by my companions for undertaking what I had not courage to go through with, therefore I resolved to pursue my first plan, by endeavouring to surmount every obstacle thus marked out by my own indiscretion; and, having lost our second mate, with three other hands, by the oversetting of a boat, and two more that gave us the slip by night, one being the ship's cook, and the captain observing the condition of my hands, ordered me to officiate in his room. This change had the desired effect in every thing but drawing water, wherein others were ordered to assist till my hands became seasoned to it. But the figure I cut in pairing potatoes for lobscouse, making bergow, boiling beef, pork, and plumb-pudding, washing greasy bowls, platters, pots and pans, with routing among coals, and making fires, was truly piteous, being curiously painted with soot and fluff.

We sailed from Cove in the beginning of April, with many other vessels outward bound; and, having a fine passage, arrived at St. John's, in the island of Antigua, about six weeks after; where, having delivered our cargo, we sailed for York-town, in Virginia, to take in a cargo of tobacco for Liverpool, and arrived there in the month of July, by which time my hands were become pretty well seasoned, though still in the cook's office, which confined me to the vessel more than others of the crew, which was considered as a kind of prison, and my indentures a warrant of detainure to keep me from traversing the continent of America, which my rambling thoughts ran so much on as to make me forget the obligations due to the worthy commander for saving my life in the harbour of Cove, and other indulgent favours conferred on me during the voyage, most obstinately breaking through the agreement subsisting between us, by artfully giving him the slip, and flying to the house of a planter for shelter; but, the place of my retreat being shortly made known to the captain, he ordered me on board, and, complaining of my ingratitude, embellished my hands with a pair of ruffles, humourously saying they became me very well, as being ornamental and useful on the present occasion. But, having small hands, and the irons being over-large, I privately drew them in and out at pleasure, without being suspected, till a suitable opportunity of escaping thence

thence afford, through the means of a country skipper, who came along-side with a loading of tobacco, and privately agreed to carry me to his friend's house, where I might be concealed till after the vessel left New-York, for one guinea reward; and, to bring it about properly, I stepped on-shore in the evening, concealing myself in a bush near the water-side, whence he took me in as the flat passed up along with the tide aflood, on having a quarter wind. The next day he brought me into the company of Mr. George Sinclair, at his own house, near West-Point, who, being made acquainted with the concern, positively refused to shelter me under his roof on other conditions than of serving him as an apprentice, for the period of two years, to his trade or occupation of a shoe-maker, which I preferred to the mortification of being conducted back to the vessel, which without my speedy compliance, I foresaw must have really been the case; therefore, without hesitating, the bargain was made, indentures drawn up, and properly executed between us, when I found my new master's family to consist of five in number, viz. himself, wife and three children; the two youngest, females; the oldest a youth about eighteen brought up to the gentle craft, who became my chief instructor; and a very suitable one he proved, on account of his being well versed in the French language, having learned it of his mother, who was descended from parents of that nation, and, her husband taking delight therein, it was more practised than English, that thereby it might become more easy to the family; and it so far engrossed my attention as, considering my restless fancy, made these two years servitude pass on more delightful than could otherwise have been expected. The pleasure I took in the study of this language so confined me to the shop and house, that I seldom or ever went out, except in the company of some one or other of the family, who seeing how diligent I was to learn, took so much pains to instruct me therein, that, by the expiration of my time, I could not only converse in, but also read and write, French tolerably well. During that period I sent two letters home without receiving any reply to either; whereupon I immediately conjectured that they would not vouchsafe to write to me on account of my disobedient conduct.

Being now at liberty to pursue the dictates of my own fancy, I, without farther remorse, shipped myself with Capt. Yeats, in a sloop belonging to Boston, then at West-Point, she being a trader from port to port along the American coast, and sometimes thence to the West-India islands, with lumber, bringing rum and sugar in return; which in some measure satisfied my rambling curiosity, as in this vessel I had the opportunity of learning the art of navigation, and visiting many strange parts, which was the only thing I hankered

I hankered after. But one day she sprang a leak, in a gale of wind, having the pumps choked with sand-ballast, and we must have inevitably foundered or been lost, had not a passenger shewn us how to make use of canvas boxes, which delivered sand and water just sufficient to keep her up till we reached New London.

This second escape brought past things to remembrance, and I wrote a third letter home to my father. His reply came to hand in June, 1759, with an account of its being the first he had received from me, as also of my mother's death, and his own health in such a dangerous situation as to have been given up by the physicians; and, with a view to enforce my speedy return, had enclosed a remittance for one hundred pounds sterling, payable at sight by a Philadelphia merchant. This letter I shewed to the captain, acquainting him at the same time with a minute detail of my past life. To which he replied, you could not have prevailed on me, to have engaged you as a hand in this sloop; through fear of bringing the divine wrath upon me, had I known it sooner; and, as it has pleased God to keep you above water so long, I most humbly hope he will likewise preserve you safe throughout the passage to England, where I advise you to go without delay, as I dare not keep you with me any longer. These words, added to the affecting lines I had just read, threw me into a kind of melancholy reflections concerning this unhappy misfortune; which self-accusation gave me to understand I had been the sole cause of; and then, too late to remedy the evil, I flew to Philadelphia, received the cash, and took a passage for Bristol in the ship Sampson, with a much stronger desire to be at home than ever I had to leave it; and, after six weeks run, met with a gale of wind in the chops of the channel, which forced us into Kinsale; whence I took my route by land for Dublin, and thence to Park-gate in the packet; where I took horse, and got home by the latter end of August; and there only found two servants in deep mourning, from whom I soon learned that my mother, on finding my cloaths in a closet where I had left them, at first sight, fell into a kind of trembling, through fear of my having made away with myself, in some shape or other, which being followed by a nervous fever, occasioned her death nine months after: but that my father was of a different opinion, by reason of the desire I had to travel: and, missing the cash, believed I had taken it for such purpose; nevertheless, diligent search was made in the ponds, rivers, and woods, for several days, at my mother's request; messengers were sent to Bristol, Liverpool, as also to my father's estate on the sea-coast, and other parts, without being able to gain the least intelligence of me; inasmuch that my uncle, his family, and the neighbouring inhabitants, were

were greatly divided in the point of opinion, some believing that I was deprived of life through design or accident, while others believed me to have privately withdrawn myself in disguise, being strongly confirmed in their opinion by many corroborating circumstances.

My father's health began to decline soon after my mother's death, and his disorder never left him, although not thought dangerous, till within a few weeks of the time he received my letter, when he died: and all parties jointly agreed in accusing me as highly culpable for not acquainting them with a proper account of my intended voyage; by a letter from Cove, which was my duty; as such timely information would, in course, have prevented the melancholy catastrophe from having happened. This point of neglect threw me into despair, which was highly increased by the visible gloom that appeared in every countenance; though my father had, in his last moments, enjoined his select friends to overlook it, as a thoughtless incident, which any other youth might have been guilty of, and not to make the remaining part of my life unhappy on account of that, which, he was pleased to say, my own conscience would, in future, sufficiently punish me for; and this was truly verified: for I believe myself to have been the cause of shortening their days, and in consequence thereof had excluded myself from all hopes of salvation.

I chiefly dreamed by night of what I had been musing on the day before; and continued thus oppressed in my mind, till, in order to relieve myself therefrom, I began to think of suicide; but the everlasting punishment due to such a crime deterring me therefrom, I entered my closet, and earnestly began to pray to God, to shew me some mark of his enlightening grace, if my grievous sins were not all together unpardonable. I remained for some considerable time pouring out my soul to him who gave it; then, arising from my knees, I withdrew into the adjoining room, and, taking a turn or two, threw myself on the bed to meditate, when the following words came into my thoughts, "I will be merciful to whom I will be merciful;" and, gladly applying it to my own case, a dawn of hope ensued which was followed by a comfortable nap, wherein methought I saw a considerable large orifice in the wrist of my right arm, which looked raw within, and dry about the edge, as though it had been made for some considerable time with the sharp and rugged end of a broken stick or split piece of wood. Upon the skin appeared two things as black as jet, being no larger than small ticks, resembling beetles or clocks which live in cellars, or damp places, crawling so artfully to and fro about the orifice, as that with all  
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my studious care I could not prevent them from creeping into it, where they, burying themselves into the flesh, shot their spawn or brood in such a manner as that the vitals soon became visibly infected, without feeling any pain except that of the mind, though apparently unable to extricate either of them; whereby I was so greatly agitated, as to think of sending for a physician to try his skill. When, awaking from my dream, I remembered every particular, at the same time looking upon it as a heavenly impulse, thus typically revealed to answer my request, in thereby shewing me what power Satan hitherto had got over me, as I now perceived that every sinful thought and action of my whole life originally sprang from his infusion. I therefore cried out, saying, O Lord, be thou my physician, I beseech thee, and enable me to resist and overcome the common enemy of all mankind!

After this I remained pretty well composed for several days, though not entirely satisfied in mind concerning my own salvation; till, one day, when leaning back in a great chair, and falling into a kind of doze, but whether asleep or awake I do not pretend to say, because I really thought myself awake, I observed a person of nearly my own stature gradually approach me, concealing all the way his features from my view; when near he pronounced these words *Believe, and be saved*. Then he vanished from my sight like a shadow. This unexpected favour entirely convinced me that I was not out of the reach of mercy. My hopes therefore increased, and I became very thankful for having been thus happily prevented from putting a period to my existence.

I now viewed my former ideas with great horror of mind; and, in order to wear them off entirely from my thoughts, I determined on moving to some distant parts, where the affair was altogether unknown, which I directly put in practice, by ordering my household furniture, and other concerns, to be disposed of with all convenient speed; and, having turned them into cash, found myself possessed of four thousand pounds, exclusive of my estate on the sea coast, which brought in one hundred a year, neat produce. Then, dismissing my servants with suitable presents, to make amends for the hasty manner of it, I took leave of my relations and other select friends, and directed my route across the mountains for Cardigan. When I arrived there, I sent for my tenant, and, having settled matters with him to my wish, I took a passage with Griffith Jones, my old shipmate, who, at this time, had a sloop of his own, bound for London, with merchants goods from Liverpool, having put in there by contrary winds two days after my arrival, Upon hear-

ing of it, I quickly made myself and design known to him whereat he shewed much pleasure in having my company to London, where we, after a delightful passage of twelve days, arrived in July, 1760; and being hauled along-side of Cotton's wharf, I took lodgings with an acquaintance of his own on Tower-hill; whence we, in visiting the curiosities, public gardens, and other places of resort, accidentally met with a most intimate acquaintance of good family at Sadler's Wells; who, having been some years in London, strongly invited us both to come and spend an evening at his lodgings in Leicester-square; which we accepted of, and found him in a very genteel situation to all appearance, with several companions of no mean aspect in company; and, spending the evening very agreeably, it was followed by other visits from time to time. We soon became as intimately connected together as formerly, insomuch that, when my friend Griffith left us, I took apartments under the same roof. Here our favourite diversions were cards and dice, whereat I and my companion, Mr. Thomas Jenkins, were continually partners, and frequently came off winners to the amount of five or ten pounds, and sometimes more, for the space of a month or five weeks running, which I ascribed to our superior skill; but was herein highly deceived; for, luck taking a different turn, we lost seven hundred pounds at one sitting, whereat my partner shewed me no further concern than telling me it was not the first time he had met with such a loss; but that it gave him little or no concern, as he always got his money back with double interest; and, if I would try my luck by joining him again, he would likewise have this sum, or throw as many thousands after it; and, not suspecting any underhand design, I, without any hesitation, accepted his proposal, which, in the conclusion, fleeced me of all I had, my estate being likewise sold to the winner, and the money lost. My partner also pretended to have been so far taken in as not to have enough left to discharge his lodgings, which he knew to be the case with me; and, in consequence of such speech, the winners presented us with a hundred pounds each, which my pretended friend said enabled him to discharge his servants and lodgings, as also to undertake his journey to Wales, which he proposed to set out for the next day, leaving me to pursue what course I thought proper; and being ashamed thereof, I, without mentioning it to any other person, considered the whole as a kind of temporal punishment, justly due to my past conduct; and, without giving myself any further concern, I procured sea-cloaths, and soon got a birth in a vessel bound for Leghorn.

I continued in the Straits-trade till the beginning of the year

year 1767, when I betook myself to his majesty's service, and remained in it till the conclusion of the war; which being over, I continued sailing to various parts of the globe in different bottoms, which, having nothing more than what commonly happens to a sea-fairing life, I therefore pass over as unnecessary. But, in the month of February, 1777, being taken sick on the passage from Naples to Amsterdam, I was left behind the vessel at the house of Mr. Dart, at the english Flag in Younger-street, for sick quarters; where, money running short, I, at his request, shipped myself for the East-Indies, under the denomination of a Dane, no Englishman being admitted into that service knowingly. The regular wages before the mast are eleven guilders per month, making just twenty shillings English money, with a bounty of 150 guilders instead of a venture, which none is allowed to carry; but the money is always duly paid on the ship's return to Holland, whereto we may add another, which they also call a bounty of 200 guilders, for which sum the person shipped receives a note from the clerk at the India House, payable at the return of the ship's books from the Cape of Good Hope, purporting what the person so shipped is still living, the latter being only a deception to all strangers, as it is only advance-money, and as such deducted from their wages; wherein I was also deceived, and should, if I had come home in the vessel, have lost 90 guilders by selling the note for 110 before we sailed; which I only mention by way of caution to others.

Matters being thus settled, I went on-board, and in May sailed from the Texel with a favourable gale, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Jenkins, my Leicester-Square partner, with whom I had been so intimately unfortunate, whom I now found accounted in a jacket and trowsers, though very sick and unfit for a sailor's employ. The short account he gave me was so very lame and trifling as does not appear worth inserting; I therefore pass it over, and only mention the perturbation of mind I saw him in being too great to admit of exaggeration. I therefore, commiserating such distress, made his case known to the commander, who understood me in the French language, and directly ordered Jenkins to such employ as appeared most suitable to his capacity; and, finding him unwilling to enter into the particulars of his distress, I did not think proper to make any addition thereto by urging such recital; but, on the contrary, past all over as unnoticed, doing all in my power to serve him, which proved very lucky, as he had no other on-board to converse with, though some of the people had a little broken English, I therefore became his chief instructor, often assisting him in what appeared likely to afford him the most relief, where-

whereby his affection was entirely gained, which was followed by a solemn league, purposely made to stand by and support each other on all occasions. We had likewise several French hands on-board, all of whom I held in no small esteem, on account of their being far more obliging and less deceitful than the Dutch. Their provisions, which were much inferior to those used in English vessels, proved so great a hardship as I did not get the better of, till extreme hunger made their grout and other dishes to become palatable, or at least not so disagreeable; especially considering that they may be more wholesome because less scorbutic than ours.

From the beginning of July to the 19th of August we had frequent storms of thunder, lightning, wind, and, rain, some of which were most tremendous; when, being in 13 east longitude, and 15 south latitude, we fell in with a small bark of 12 tons or thereabouts, sloop-rigged, with her mast standing, but all her sails in rags; and no living soul on-board that we could perceive. The ship being therefore hove to, and the small boat hoisted out, Jenkins, myself, and a Dutchman, were ordered to go and see what she really was; but, how great was our surprise on finding two black men and a boy so much putrified in the cabin as to be scarce able to bear the stench that issued from the scuttle! which having been properly reported, the captain and other officers unanimously agreed, that the plague, or some other disorder equally infectious, must have been amongst them to occasion such a disaster; and they, in order to prevent the same from being communicated to the crew, most cautiously supplied us with plenty of provisions, water, and other necessities, as also the long-boat's suit of sails and pendent, with orders to bend them and steer after the ship, keeping a full league distance from the lee-quarter; and, if we took the infection, to lower the pendent half-mast; but to keep it chock up while our health continued, without approaching nearer than the limits prescribed till a proper signal was thrown out. Being therefore willing to preserve our own lives, we secured down the scuttle without removing the corpses; and, having made sail, found eighteen inches of water in the hold, when we fell to the pump and soon freed her; then, consulting on what farther steps were most necessary to be pursued, we thought ourselves more safe from infection while in the open air than if below and therefore agreed to remain both day and night upon deck till we should either fall sick or be relieved; but things happened otherwise; for, on the evening of the 24th, the mast was split to shivers, and most of it carried overboard, the Dutchman killed at the helm, and both Jenkins and I struck senseless to the deck, by lightning;

lightning; and, upon coming to ourselves, we could not form any proper idea concerning the melancholy disaster before day-light, when we saw the Dutchman lying under the boom quite lifeless, very much scorched, not three feet of the splintered mast standing, the sails half burnt, and only prevented from being wholly consumed by the torrent of rain that fell during the storm, part of them, with the gaff and mast-head, floating along-side, the ship standing, right from us, at such a distance as to be quite out of sight in two or three hours after; however, on sounding the pump, we found that she had received little or no damage in her hull, therefore we cleared the wreck, and, converting the boom into a jury-mast, endeavoured to make sail after the ship, but were driven fast to leeward by a strong current that set in shore from the south-west. Notwithstanding every discouraging circumstance that occurred, we, the next day, committed the body of our ship-mate to the deep, with the formal ceremony always used on the like occasion.

But now, finding ourselves unable to avoid being carried on the uncivilized part of the African coast, we preferred death by the plague to the thoughts of being massacred or enslaved by the natives; and, having recommended ourselves to the divine protection, stripped into buff, and, drawing the putrified bodies one by one from the cabin, launched them over-board; then, tearing down part of the bulk-head, took off the hatches to make the air circulate fore and aft; which being done, we scraped and washed the cabin, to expel the obnoxious smell. A complete garbac throughout the bark ensued, wherein many useful articles were soon discovered; in particular, two small boxes, one containing six different pieces of stamped cotton, each piece full thirty yards in length, with ten or twelve pounds of thread; the other a quantity of small locking-glasses, beads, clasp-knives, scissors, and needles of different sizes, as if packed up for merchandise, with a direction on each box-lid in Portuguese, as conjectured by the name of St. Salvador being thereon, but could not make sense of any more for want of the language. Near a hundred weight of gunpowder was likewise found in good condition, as also three times that weight of leaden ball and smaller shot of different sizes, with a quantity of gun and pistol flints, but no fire-arms, or any other thing of consequence, till the next day; when we luckily discovered two muskets with their bayonets, two fowling-pieces, two brace of horse and one of pocket pistols, with six small axes, twelve hand-saw files, four hammers, a dozen gimlets of different sizes, and two hundred weight of nails, three hand saws, three chisels, three spades, and as many cutlasses in their scabbards all new,  
which

which appeared to have been carefully concealed between the seam-boards under the cabin beds, being all we found on-board, except a few ordinary cloaths which the Blacks used to wear; an earthen pot, two plates, three broken knives, and a wooden can, with about five or six ton of ballast in the hold, but not the sign of any provisions, roots, fruits, water, spirits, wine, oil, tallow, or any other thing necessary for the support of human life, was to be seen. Having made such necessary discovery, we jointly agreed, that the poor Negroes had not died of the plague, or other pestilential distemper; but it appeared most probable, that they, by endeavouring to make their escape from some part of the Brasil coast, had been lost, and starved to death for want on the vast Atlantic ocean; and what confirmed us more clearly in this opinion was, there being no pen, ink, paper, compass, quadrant, or other instrument necessary for the undertaking such a voyage, less, or more than what we brought from the ship. At this time we were in 15 east longitude, and 18 south latitude, still driving towards the land, which we, accordingly to expectation, saw right abreast on the 29th, bearing due east, and looking high, at the distance of seven or eight leagues.

In this situation, we thought it more practicable and likely for us to reach some European settlement on the Guinea coast than the Cape of Good-Hope, though at a much greater distance, and therefore we gave up all hopes of gaining the Cape, and, putting about, stood to the north-ward; but all the sail we could make proved insufficient to keep us from being heaved in-shore by the current, which drove us to the disagreeable necessity of looking for an opening to run into, being the only chance we had left to prevent the bark from being carried ashore in the surf, which in the finest weather, runs very high on this coast.

It was not long before a suitable opportunity offered; for on the 1st of September, 1780, we anchored in a little cove or inlet, every where surrounded with hills, woods, and rocks, except on the south-west corner; whereat we entered with the tide a flood as appeared by the vessel's being aground so very soon that we could walk round her on the sand full three hours before low water; and, seeing no inhabitants, or any other thing to oppose our designs, we therefore, both well armed, ventured to ascend to the summit of the next adjoining hill; whence the extensive prospect we had of the inland country, with its rising hills and lofty woods, here and there diversified with verdant savannas, and purling rills trickling down the rocks, as also the chaunting of numbers of uncommon birds, warbling their wild notes with native harmony, made the aspect of the country to appear truly delightful; and, observing that neither house, man, or  
beast,

beast, appeared in view, concluded this part of the coast to be without inhabitants, and that we had not so much to fear concerning them as was at first expected; therefore, on our return to the inlet, we shot a wild turkey, large, fat, and good, whereof we made several delicious meals; but, not being fully convinced of our personal safety, we, to prepare for the worst, removed our most valuable concerns into a convenient hole in the rock, which had so low and narrow a pass, that only one could enter on his hands and knees, though it contained room enough for a habitation within, if found necessary; and of this hole we made both store-house and magazine, thinking it far more safe than the vessel, which lay aground, fully exposed to the natives, if any should appear; a most lucky circumstance for us; for, on the eighth day of the same month, being looking for turtle and other shell-fish near the entrance of the cove's mouth, without any other weapons of defence than two axes which we had in our hands to knock shell-fish from the rocks, our retreat to the vessel was suddenly cut off by some hundreds of Black, or Negroes, with short woolly hair, all well armed with bows, arrows, and lances; from whom seeing no possible way of escape, we instantly fell into their hands, without making the least show of resistance; we were directly marched to the verge of a shady wood, which lay at the other side of the hill; where, having made a halt, they regaled us with plantains, bananas, roasted yams, and a kind of liquor that proved no ways disagreeable, serving it up in cocoa-nut shells, which we received very thankfully, and were offered part of a monkey half raw and half roasted, which they tore in pieces like so many dogs; but of this part of the repast we did not choose to partake. Preparation for rest being then made, they laid themselves down upon the grass, forming a circle round us, with motions for us to lie down also. We complied; and, seeing no way to escape, remained there about five or six hours; when, being regaled with a second repast, they began in the cool of the evening to march due north, and continued on through savannas, with a ridge of hills on the west, till about two hours after sun-rise, when we came to another inlet or opening, at the distance of 18 or 20 miles from the former; where, having made a halt, they refreshed themselves, and went to rest under the shade, as on the day before, all except small parties of six or eight, that went out occasionally to forage and bring in provisions, whereof they did not seem to be in want, as they took three meals each day, but did not stop by night till the 12th; and, after having in the like manner been conducted for about 40 miles to the north-east, we were then sold, or otherwise delivered up, to a Black or Indian, with long hair, who

appeared to us as ruler over a great multitude of his own species, being clothed, from below the arm-pits to a little above the knees, with a vest curiously made of flax, or such like materials, with four flaps resembling those of a waistcoat, but something broader, having likewise several flat bits of gold fastened to his hair, by the way of ornament. Many others did not appear much inferior in point of dress; but the poorer sort, being by far the greater number, had only the skins of wild beasts, or pieces of cloth tied about their waists, and less quantities of gold hanging to their hair. We also beheld a number of cattle grazing at some distance, which we took for asses; but, on farther inspection, we found them more like horses, in height, strength, and spirit, only their ears were large, and more like those of asses. They were properly trained for riding on or carrying of burthens, of which they had plenty.

Our new master proved mild, humane, and gentle, to the highest degree, using us more like companions than slaves, both at victuals and otherwise, daily admiring our hats, caps, handkerchiefs, jackets, shirts, and trowsers, being all the cloaths we had; and, when he first saw us cut things with a clasp-knife, he became almost frantic, having never seen the like before; yet he refused to accept of these valuable instruments when freely offered up; for, the Blacks had not stripped or taken any thing from us, except the two axes, which they took from us when they first seized us, and which we never saw afterwards, although we did not wholly part from the Negroes for near a month, during which time they continued bartering many of their own species with the Indians for cloaths, gold, and ivory, there being an annual meeting with them for such purpose.

We had now the pleasure of sleeping upon a grass mattress, under a tent, with our new master, made of cloth, so covered with horse-hides as to make it proof against all weather, such kind being used by the better sort of Indians; but those belonging to the lower class were made of skins only, and occasionally carried with them from place to place. Their diet chiefly consisted of fruits, roots, and herbs, whereof they had the greatest variety growing wild and very good. Of fish, flesh, and fowl, they eat but little, although in no want of cows, hogs, and goats, they had also many wild turkeys, and a kind of partridge, weighing six or seven pounds, with various sorts of most delicious fish; but every beast, fowl, and fish, which fell in the way of the Negroes, was greedily devoured by them without distinction, not even excepting the aligator and serpent, which the Indians often killed and gave to the Negroes to eat, some of both kinds being five or six yards in length, which we had the opportunity of seeing

seizing before the tents were struck.

When the Negroes returned, the Indians took their route towards the east, through an open country, very thinly inhabited for about 400 miles, having about 2000 of both sexes in company, with full as many horses. We had the pleasure to ride by our master's side, making regular stages of about 20 miles each night, setting always off at sun-set, and pitching our tents at sun-rising, in which we mostly continued all day, to avoid the heat, which was extreme, having a sufficient quantity of Negroe slaves employed to forage and bring in provisions from the woods occasionally, some of which they roasted, and boiled others in rough coarse pots made of clay, neither glazed within or without, but which stood the fire mighty well. Their favourite liquor was a mixture made of pine apples, oranges, lemons, honey, and water, which they had in great plenty throughout the whole journey, and sometimes palm-wine: but the former was holden in far greater esteem by the Indians, who, instead of pitchers and glasses, make use of calabash and cocoa-nut shells for drinking-utensils.

Having passed many rising hills, pleasant valleys, avenues, and crystal streams, we arrived in a town, containing four or five hundred houses, being low, built of cane and sticks, resembling basket-work, and roofed with a kind of grass, which effectually keeps out the storms. Here old, young, rich, poor, male, and female, came to see our dress and colour, in such numbers, as partly to break our rest, though nothing but civility appeared in their behaviour. We were in like manner gazed at as we passed through every town and village, which seldom lay more than five or ten miles apart, till we reached the capital, near a hundred miles farther east, containing three or four thousand houses, having, in the latter part of this journey, crossed three shallow rivers, directing their course from south to north; one passing close by the town, and, as we supposed, they might all three run into one near the Equator, or possibly discharge themselves into another running from east to west, and so fall into the Atlantic Ocean. The misfortune I had of losing my instruments in the vessel was now much lamented, having only half a quire of writing paper in the whole, and that luckily concealed in the rock, except one sheet, with an inkhorn which I had in my pocket; with which I kept this short account, but was prevented from taking the true situation of this place, which, to the best of my judgment, lies  $21^{\circ}$  or  $22^{\circ}$  east longitude, and  $15^{\circ}$  or  $16^{\circ}$  south latitude. We had the honour of being presented to his majesty soon after our arrival, and were more agreeably received, without shewing more homage than that of following the example

of our conductor, who, on approaching near, prostrated himself on the earth, which we observing took the hint, and did the same, whence we were quickly raised by his majesty's hand, who appeared in a lingering state of health. He, for some considerable time, viewed us both with a most agreeable air; then, conversing a little with our conductor, we were taken into another room on the same floor, the palace having no rooms above any more than any other house; hence we had as free access to his majesty as to our master, who proved to be a state minister, frequently attending court; here we were in many respects as well off, if not much better than his majesty, as we had delicious dishes of our own cooking, which he would not taste of. We found his majesty's complaint whereof he had been ill some months, to be a kind of intermitting fever, resembling that I had been troubled with at Amsterdam, and of which I was cured by taking flour of brimstone, which I since held in such esteem as still to have some in my pocket, and by signs prevailed on him to take regularly as much as lay on a shilling each night and morning, for the space of fifteen days, mixt with honey, which wrought a perfect cure in him, and highly advanced us in the esteem of both king and people. We had nothing more to do than to command, and to be obeyed in every thing we could reasonably expect or desire, which made the time pass smoothly on till the 2d of August, 1781. We had much rain in the months of May and June; which being over, the Indians prepared for another trading journey, by packing up their cloth in bags made of skins, each piece of cloth being about five feet long and two feet broad, worked by hand, without the help of looms, from a kind of weed resembling flax, that grew wild about the country. They have no inclosures, and did not seem to know the real value of the gold, which their children had been picking up from the rivulets during the whole year, and flattening the largest bits, by beating it between two stones, for their own ornaments, packing up the remainder with many elephants teeth and shovels.

These preparations opened a new scene, which gave us no small hopes of being thereby enabled to visit the cove or creek whence the Negroes brought us; and, having learned some little of their language, partly by words, and partly by motion, we made his majesty sensible of our desire, which he readily agreed to oblige us in. Accordingly, at the time above-mentioned, we set off with our master, accompanied by his former train of merchants, being a little sooner than usual, as appeared by our arriving at the creek or inlet near a week before the Negroes, who according to the best account I could obtain, had likewise a considerable

considerable nation of their own situate near the sea-coast, and extending north and south to a considerable distance on each side of the inlet. As to the sloop, we found nothing of her, except a few ground timbers, with the foot of the stem and stern posts appearing to have been cut off a little above the sands, wherein these remains were settled fast, and must in course have been thus cut and torn to pieces with the help of the two axes that we lost; the Negroes having no tools, or other instruments of iron, with them, as we could perceive. Our other affairs being still safe, we removed with them from the cove to our master's tent, where every article, except those wrapped in paper, was separately examined with surprise and wonder; but no one thing allowed to be made use of, or taken from the bulk, till we returned to court on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October following; where they were likewise viewed by the king, queen, his three other wives, and attendants, with equal astonishment. Six small nails, a gimlet, with about an ounce of thread, two needles, three musket-balls, a knife, and a pair of scissors, being given to the priest standing by an altar made of earth, whereon he laid them, he made a kind of harangue, or speech, for the space of eight or ten minutes, to the chief or greatest part of the inhabitants residing in the town and neighbourhood, all of whom shewed a kind of religious attention to what he said. Which being over, he took them up from the altar, walked in procession before the king, queen, and their attendants, being likewise followed in good order by all the rest to a grove, at the distance of near a mile from the town; wherein was an opening, between the trees, of about two hundred yards in width at its first entrance, running taper towards the upper end, where stood a kind of wall made with the dried skulls of different sorts of wild beasts and other animals, carefully placed upon each other, and painted different colours; the largest, being that of an elephant, was fixed near the center, wherein having put these wonderful curiosities, he harangued the congregation as before, when every one separately withdrew to his own habitation. This formal ceremony being over, a like quantity was claimed by his majesty, and as many more by our master; which we considered as a kind of duty paid to the state and clergy, being justly due to them as a moderate demand on so many goods imported.

The clergy are holden in much esteem; they circumcise all their male children at a month old; and, according to the best account we could obtain, they believe in God, or a supreme Being, who made both the heavens and the earth; as also in demons, evil spirits, ghosts, and apparitions, to whom they commonly sacrifice hogs, goats, and turkeys, on an altar of earth.

A little

A little before their merchants set off on their trading-journey, a cow was sacrificed on their altar at the time of the new moon, with great devotion seemingly paid to that planet. Being now well acquainted with the value of our mercantile stock, as also with the natural disposition of the people and manner of travelling through the country, we jointly agreed to dispose of all the goods, we intended to part with, for gold, negroe slaves, and horses, to assist in conveying us, across the torrid zone, to Ethiopia; which said undertaking we thought no ways impracticable; and, if such point could once be gained, made not the least doubt of reaching Europe by way of Egypt. The first step we therefore took was, to make his majesty fully sensible that we intended to change them for gold, whereat he appeared highly delighted, and soon furnished us with about a quarter of a hundred weight of that metal in small bits, the largest whereof did not weigh a full ounce; for which he took a hammer, a gimlet, and about twenty pounds of nails, in return, after having seen their use fairly tried. The next articles he examined were, an ax, a hand-saw, and a looking-glass. It gave us no small pleasure to see his majesty chopping off the small boughs all round a tree, as high as he could reach, with the ax, then cutting them off another with the hand-saw, till nearly spent for want of breath; and, on seeing himself in the glass, which had not been taken from the paper sooner, he hastily ran backwards for some yards with his eyes fixed on it; then approaching slowly, peeped behind to and again, several times, before we could prevail on him properly to examine it in his hands. As to the needle and thread, we made them sensible of their worth, by stitching the flaps of two noblemens vests together, as they stood near each other, who, on perceiving themselves fastened looked greatly chagrined; but we soon dispelled their fears, by cutting them asunder with the scissors, whereat a sudden laughter ensued; and, with a view to continue such pleasantries, we tied various strings of beads round the neck and arms of her majesty and other ladies of rank, werewith his majesty and attendants were not so well pleased as we expected; neither did they resume their usual air of behaviour, until we had also bedecked them in like manner. We, upon the whole, found customers enough at court to purchase all our goods, except two muskets with their bayonets, the pistols, cutlasses, powder, shot, with five pieces of cotton, six pounds of thread, a hundred needles, three gimlets, ten or twelve pounds of nails, with a single article of every other kind which we did not think proper to part with, our wearing apparel being likewise reserved. The sale being over, we found ourselves possessed of about 200 weight of,

gold

gold, with two compleat tents, and cooking utensils of the best kind, six negroe slaves, fifteen horses, with bags and other geer, necessary to prepare us for so long a journey after their mode of travelling. One imprudent step nearly ruined all our future hopes of success; his majesty in viewing the fire-arms, though still ignorant of their use, appeared extremely desirous of being satisfied concerning that point, and being over willing to oblige him therein, without cautiously reflecting on the consequences that might ensue, I loaded my piece with swan-shot, and, seeing two ostriches within reach, I let fly in the presence of many hundred spectators, and killed them both; when the unexpected report, with the flash from the muzzle, and manner of seeing them deprived of life, so terrified his majesty, and other spectators that we were in a few minutes deserted, and left only two negroe slaves, who appeared so fastened to the ground with panic as to be thereby rendered unable to get away, but soon after, found means to give us the slip also. The misfortune, brought on by this unforeseen accident, proved nothing less than a total separation from all farther communication with any of the Indian chiefs, or others of the same nation; every one, both male and female, running to a great distance on seeing us approach; neither did all the motions and signs we could make use of prove sufficient to invite them near enough to converse and be convinced of our inoffensive designs and good-will towards them; their houses were also deserted wherever we came, and every article contained therein, left to our disposal, yet we did not touch or embezzle any thing except provision; and, finding, ourselves thus foolishly deprived of our six slaves, and that we need not expect any other assistance from them or the Indians, it reduced us to the disagreeable necessity of dividing our small cargo into thirteen parts and laying it on as many horses, though not more than what six usually carried, reserving the others to ride on; and, after having implored the divine aid, we ventured to set off, on the 9th of November, bending a course north north east, or as near that point as we could guess by the rising and setting of the sun; that being all the guide we had to trust to; and, the news flying before us from town to town, we found them all without inhabitants, and the people at some distance viewing us in crowds, as we passed along, till the 16th of the same month. We always set off at sun-rise, moving on about four hours in the morning, and the same time in the evening, to avoid the extreme heat of the mid-day sun, not venturing to travel by night through fear of the wild beasts, or other accidental misfortunes we might be liable to meet with in passing through such a vast extent of unknown country; and, being

being at this time clear of the full inhabited parts, we found ourselves unable to make good more than ten or twelve miles a day, for want of slaves to forage for provisions, which took up much time; but we were obliged to put up with this inconvenience, and we continued at such rate, without meeting with any thing more extraordinary than usual, till the 21st of December, when Jenkins, hastily drawing his cutlass, at one blow cut a serpent through at the distance of eighteen inches below the head, as it was moving towards us, and very near seizing me behind. This narrow escape put us more on our guard than usual, especially whilst seeking provisions, as it happened at such time. It measured about seven yards long, and ten inches through in the thickest part, with a grey back and speckled belly, in shape resembling those small snakes we have in the island of Great Britain. Till this time we met with good water every day running from the hills and mountains, that were situate on one side or other, as we passed along; but now, entering a low flat country, we found none the first day's journey, which gave us no small uneasiness, by reason of our having no more than what was barely sufficient to supply the beasts with; nevertheless venturing on next day, we came to a rivulet by seven o'clock in the morning, and, pitching our tent near the spot, began to prepare for the consequence, by filling our water-bottles, or rather bags, consisting of twenty-four in number, each bag holding about five gallons, English measure, being made of cow-hides, fastened two and two together by the Indians, for the purpose of hanging across the horses backs, answering better than small casks, they being equally tight; and, without such convenience, we must have absolutely perished with thirst, or returned whence we came, as, in course of the journey, it so happened, that we several times passed on for the space of four, five, and even six, days at a stretch, without being able to procure more water than what was carried in those bags, which took so much time in filling, as thereby to keep us from setting off till day light next morning.

We continued our route through the same flat country, mostly knee-deep in grass, amongst which lay many serpents; but none happened in our way so large as that before described. We seldom got sight of any hills, and what few we saw appeared very low. On the first of February, 1782, we came into very wet and swampy ground, more plentifully stocked with alligators than in any other part of our journey; by which we conjectured that we were drawing near the banks of some river, which the lofty trees in front concealed from our sight; accordingly, ascending to the top of a tree, I saw the river at no great distance,

distance, appearing to be near a mile across in the narrowest part; directing its course from east to west, but in a circular form, resembling that of a half moon, into whose bite, or hollow we had accidentally fallen; and, being unable to cross with the cattle, we were obliged to alter our route due east, keeping along the south-side, till a place shallow enough to pass over it might offer. Nothing more dispiriting could well have happened, for, from day to day, and week to week, we searched for the long-wished for spot without success; and what made this disappointment still more distressing was our meeting with another river, which discharged itself into that from the south, and appeared equally difficult to cross. This reduced us to the disagreeable necessity of traversing its course, as we had done the former. After all, we were obliged to encamp on the west side till after the wet season, which began on the 17th of April.

In the course of the journey, which we supposed to be 1100 or 1200 miles, few black people came in view, and those at such a distance, that we could not tell whether they were Indians or negroes. We saw many elephants, and found several large teeth lying on the ground, but did not judge them worth carrying away. We once thought we saw a lion at a distance, but were not certain; however, a leopard came full in view. We also saw a number of Monkeys of different colours, with many wild cattle, horses, buffaloes, deer, goats, and other four legged animals; but the most terrible of all was the barking of wolves, which frightfully echoed from the woods by night; and the alligators. To secure us from these, we always kept a fire burning by night near our tent, where the horses continually grazed, having been, as we suppose, regularly trained to such a habit. The whole fifteen were still in good order, and our health no way impaired; and we returned thanks for such a valuable blessing.

On the 15th of July, we resumed our journey, it having for some time been dry, and the river, which had overflowed a large tract of land, drawn within its banks. On the 18th, we saw large hills right before us; on the 21st, we came to three huts in a valley, near the foot of a hill, which had ten negroes of both sexes in them, who at first seemed timorous and fearful, but, growing bolder, they at length conducted us to a safe passage over the river, for which piece of service we gave them six small nails, a needle, and a skain of thread, wherewith they seemed very well-pleased. Hence, we changed our route to north east, as near as we could think, intending to fall in with the other river, where it might be found passible. We met now and then with rising hills and pleasant valleys, thinly inhabited with Negroes,

some of whom attempted to seize our horses, but I fired my piece over their heads, which made them fly to a great distance; others behaved civilly, in bringing us palm-wine, fruits, yams, and cocoa-nuts, for which we made suitable returns, and offered to purchase one or two of their people, but they refused to sell any. In the low flat country we saw but few, and those so very shy as always to keep a sufficient distance from us; yet these few made the face of the country far more lively and pleasant to pass through than that in the former part of our journey had been.

On the 13th of August, we fell in with a river, directing its course from south-east to north-west; whose banks we traced till the 15th, and then crossed it safe near the foot of a hill, where observing the high lands to run along farther east, and, the nearer we approached, the more inhabitants there seemed to be, who frequently shewed strong inclinations to molest us; we therefore agreed to travel in the flat, but keep as near the high land as we could with safety, looking upon this as a branch only, and that we might expect to find the main river lying still before us, which proved to be the case; for, after this, we met with running streams far more frequently, as a week seldom passed without our having one or more of them to cross. The inhabitants of the plain also grew bolder, and by the 20th of September, when we saw hills right a-head, their numbers were so increased, that we thought it dangerous to proceed farther. Upon this we once more took our route due north, for we well knew that the main body of the river lay that way, if we had not already passed over it, keeping as far from the high land as usual. On the 4th of October, we fell in with it, but it was still impassible, though not more than 200 yards across, which obliged us to trace its banks towards the hills, in the sight of Blacks every day, whose numbers multiplied as we drew near, till we at length observed them hovering at some distance in parties of six or seven together, as though intent on making us their prey; we therefore prepared for the expected attack, by loading our pistols, and moving on with fixed bayonets, having lost our fowling-pieces in the sloop. On the 9th we came to rising ground, where the stream appeared shallow enough to cross and the Blacks observing us descend the bank, which was not over steep on the other side, quickly joined all their parties into one body, making upwards of twenty in all, and proved so very swift of foot, as to lay hold of every horse we had before they reached the water's edge; these two we rode on being surrounded by nine or ten, who aimed to pull us off; but having placed ourselves close together, two of the boldest were instantly run through the body with our bayonets, which did not put an end

to their designs, or prevent the rest from endeavouring to pull the lading from off our other horses; nay, so fully bent were they on our destruction, that with two wooden spears, the only weapon they had among them, our two naggs were both killed, and we were obliged to defend ourselves on foot, and to use fire-arms for the preservation of our lives. We dispatched half a dozen with our pistols in less than two minutes, and observing two others making up the bank, laden with bags from off the horses, we took aim with our muskets, and proved lucky enough to drop them both, which struck the rest with such a panic, as to make them disperse different ways, leaving ten of their companions either killed, or so wounded, as, in our opinion, they could not recover. We then put our ladings to rights, and crossed the river with thirteen horses, having lost the other two in this unhappy affair; and seeing other parties of Blacks on this side, in order to avoid the spilling of more blood, we took our route due west, keeping near the water-side till the 14th, when, perceiving ourselves to be out of all danger of future attacks from their numbers, we changed our route for the northward, pursuing that line till the 18th, when the rains set in with such violence as obliged us to incamp, and remain in or near that spot till the 17th of December, not having made good three days journey during that space of time; a circumstance we could not otherwise account for, except that of our being got 10 or 11 degrees nearer the equator, having during the months we were at the Indian town, observing only now and then a thunder-storm to happen, and those of too short duration to obstruct their trading journeys.

Hence we continued on our usual route in the sight of Blacks, or their huts, almost every day, till the 24th of January, 1786, when we came to such extensive sands in front as the best eye could not see over, also lying on our right and left, wherein the horses feet sunk down so low as rendered all our efforts to cross them entirely useless, being surrounded with uncommon dangers on every side; Ethiopia, the only civilized part we expected to reach, being separated from us by this sandy desert, though at no greater distance than about five or six hundred miles in our opinion; it was therefore agreed that we must either find means to pass over them, or never return to Europe. Our affairs therefore being thought more desperate than ever, we again turned towards the Negroes in the east, chiefly keeping the sands in view, till our retreat was cut off, on the 29th, by a party of fifteen, or thereabouts, while as many more shewed themselves in front, to all appearance fully bent on putting an end to our future travels. We therefore, without farther hesitation, shot  
both

both their leaders, while briskly marching up in front and rear, which dispersed the rest among the trees, wherewith the country, though flat, was very well supplied; affording many places of concealment, whence they might, one time or other, fall upon us by surprize, which was more likely to happen, as their numbers daily multiplied; and, seeing no end to the sands, though we believed this to be the shortest way to it, if we could pass on, which seemed impossible on account of the distance we might have to travel among the Blacks, we, for the preservation of our lives, agreed to return back and seek for a passage in the west, though attended with ever so much fatigue and labour; even preferring all other difficulties and dangers, that might befall us, to those of being robbed and massacred by these uncivilized Negroes, of whom we, by turning to the opposite point, lost sight in ten or eleven days, still having the sands in view, but no inhabitants to dispute our passage, if it could be found that way. We continued on till the beginning of March, when we saw the good land circling round, by little and little, till it ran along at about north-west. On the 17th of March it began to mizzle and rain, and daily continued with very little intermission, till the 6th of April following; during which time our travelling had not been thereby delayed, as it cooled the air, and enabled us to get on a little faster, not being attended with such dreadful storms as usually happened in other parts of the country; when, observing the vegetable parts circle round to the south-west, we found ourselves on the most northerly point, near three parts surrounded by sands, which at this time were so fastened with continual rains as to be thereby rendered much better for the cattle to travel on than grass. Being therefore unwilling to let slip such a favourable opportunity, we procured some fruits, roots, and herbs, with the part of a hog ready dressed; then, loading the cattle with as much water and grass as they could well carry, we recommended ourselves to the Almighty's protection, and at day-break, on the 6th, ventured upon the sands, taking our route northerly, by the direction of the sun, as it now and then peeped through the mist. We proved lucky enough to arrive safe in a vegetable country next evening, lying at the distance of forty miles or thereabouts, although the former part of our journey did not, in our opinion, exceed ten miles a day, one day with another. Having therefore returned thanks to Almighty God for such marks of his divine favour, manifestly shewed in safely guiding us across these dangerous sands, we gave the cattle three days rest; then pursued our route in the same line of direction till the 15th, when the sands appeared in front, being too extensive to cross, which repeated trials at length

length convinced us of ; as also, that such like mizz'ing rain fell twice a year, chiefly setting in near the middle of March, and ceasing in the beginning of May ; and again from the latter end of September to the middle of November, continually fastening the sands, which were, at all other times, soft and impassible. During the dry months we found ourselves on a fruitful spot, inclosed on every side with deserts, containing about 200 miles in length, from east to west, and half that extent in the broadest part, from north to south, having gone over the whole completely ; and, in struggling to gain the main land, from the different parts of the east, west, and north, sides, we spared no pains, having thereby lost three of our best cattle in soft holes, or quicksands, by the month of November, 1784, when the consequent result of so many disappointments, continually attended with such uncommon fatigue in the wet, proved nothing less than a sudden decline of my fellow-traveller's health, who being seized with a pain throughout his limbs, was thereby shortly reduced to uncommon distress and misery, without hope of a proper remedy ; for want whereof the disorder increased, his stomach failed, his flesh declined, his voice became low, his body weak, and pain so great as not to bear turning without making pitiful groans ; and, when he saw me truly diligent in procuring every thing within the reach of my power, and carefully administering to his relief, with real marks of true compassion for such his unhappy condition, frequently trembling at the thoughts of being separated by death, and so reduced to a far more dreary situation than before, he exclaimed, Alas ! if you knew but all, you would not think so much of parting from me, notwithstanding the consequence of your being left by yourself in this lonesome place, which something foretels me will assuredly happen ; as also, that kind Providence will afterwards release and bring you safe back to Europe. Know then, that, as the words of a dying man, what I am going to add may be depended upon as really true. I have been long since pressed in mind to disclose the same, but my stubborn heart would not give way thereto ; and, however great your surprize may be, it is no less true that I came to London with my fortune, which you know to be considerable ; and, thinking it sufficient to support an independent character, soon formed an acquaintance with several young gentlemen, whose substance was far above the reach of my sphere ; and, being led into their expensive way of living, I soon became so very straightened, for want of cash, as to find no better way of supporting the character I had begun than by closely connecting myself with, and becoming subservient to, the dictates of three high-lived sharpers ; who so far explained the  
mystery

mystery of dice and cards, and laid out the part I was to act for the purpose of securing success on all occasions, as soon convinced me of their dangerous tendency, and how impossible it is for such as suspect not their designs to escape falling into the trap. You were the first I ever ensnared that way; for which treacherous piece of villany I received a fourth part of your fortune, being from that time extolled as a useful member of their society, living in all manner of vice and debauchery, from year to year, till our characters became exposed, and we pointed out as notorious gamblers. Our income declined, and extravagant way of living continued, which caused us to betake ourselves to collecting on the high-way, till one of the party was apprehended by Sir John Fielding's men; who having got full scent of another, in order to save my own bacon, I slipped over to Amsterdam, and in less than a week I received a friendly invitation from an unknown hand, requested me to spend the evening with an English gentleman, at a capital house in the Warner-street, where the biter was at length bit, and I most justly paid off in my own coin; for, not suspecting any cheat, I was there left full of wine, being afterwards stripped, confined in prison, then cruelly treated with blows and short allowance, till, for the preservation of my life, I consented to ship myself under the denomination of a Swede, and go to India in the same vessel that proved the instrumental cause of our being here. Can you therefore pardon or excuse a wretch, who has most wickedly robbed you of all you had, and consequently reduced you to the necessity of working for your daily bread? Nay more, your being here is most likely owing to that very transaction, Providence having brought it so about, to punish me in your presence; therefore grieve not after such a wretch as the justice of heaven thinks proper to afflict; especially as you see me unworthy to have the least mark of your esteem; but rather content yourself with solitude, till such time as divine Providence shall see fit to release you from it, as a Christian far more worthy of his protection than I am.

The open-hearted manner, in which he so voluntarily declared the above, so endeared him to me, that, notwithstanding past failings, I could not think of parting with him: I therefore shewed no marks of displeasure, but returned such reply as appeared most likely to alleviate his melancholy thoughts, by assuring him of the increase and continuance of my friendly esteem, as also furnishing him with a short sketch of my own life, or such part as appeared most likely to shew myself as great a sinner and, if possible, less intitled to the divine protection than what he really was: But all I could say upon that or any other subject proved useless; for, he departed this life on the 17th of Jan. 1785, persisting

persisting in his former opinion to the very last moment. I therefore removed the tent, and, digging a grave in the spot whereon it stood, made shift to inter his remains therein, with all the funeral rites due to the corpse of a departed friend, being the last, as I thought, of the human species I was like to see.

I now resigned myself to my fate; and, the tents being nearly worn out, I built a hut or habitation, after the Indian manner, and therein found the tools and nails extremely useful; then I converted the tents and skins into bedding, and made the whole as comfortable as circumstances would allow, being situate near a crystal stream which sprang up at the foot of a rising hill, and ran down by the hut, whence I had a prospect of the woods.

I next considered, that my stock of gun-powder was more than one half expended, and, if intirely so, I should be rendered unable to procure any other kind of provisions, except roots, fruits, and herbs. This put me on a plan of catching young turkies, fowls, partridges, hogs, goats, and deer, alive, which had till this time been my common diet: and therein I proved successful; for, I took the young birds from their nests, and caught the others in snares set among the trees and bushes; and thus, with some degree of pleasure, I raised up a tame supply, time enough to reserve a quantity of ammunition, sufficient to defend myself against the wild beasts; there being lions, tigers, hyænas, leopards, wolves, and crocodiles, though not so many but that I happily escaped being assailed by any, except the hyæna, which ran at me with such fury as to receive the point of a bayonet, and the full contents of my piece, down his throat, which laid him sprawling on the ground. He was more than double the bulk of the largest tanner's dog I ever saw in Britain, though not much differing in shape, only having a sharp nose, and strong bristles on his back like a boar.

For the support of my tame brood, I dug up, with much difficulty, a quantity of roots that grew wild and transplanted them into about half an acre of ground, lying in two different spots near the hut. In the space of three months I received a plentiful crop; the one half of the produce being excellent yams, and the other half potatoes, of six or seven pounds each, exactly resembling those in Europe for shape and colour, being equally as dry, but very sweet. I had tropical fruits of all kinds in the greatest abundance; as also, honey, sugar-cane, and tobacco, with grapes and raisins, pepper, and spice of various kinds, but no salt, and was therefore obliged to make shift without it; to which I may add the cabbage-tree, bread-fruit, and exceeding good turnips all the year round. In order to preserve my livestock from the beasts of prey by night, I built two outhouses for

for their reception, wherewith they soon became acquainted, and grew so tame as to give me very little trouble in keeping them together. The apparel usually wore was a cotton cap, shirt, and pair of trowsers, of my own making, with the addition of a deer skin jacket and cap, during the rainy months. The arms I carried were a loaded musket and fixed bayonet, a brace of pistols, cutlase, and an ax, fastened in a hairy belt; thus accoutred, I usually rode and walked about the country, having much spare time. I also examined the running streams for gold, and frequently saw it lie in small bits, of various shapes and sizes, among the gravel, without giving myself the least trouble or concern to pick it up; nay, so plenty was this metal, that, after every shower of rain that fell, I could plainly see it intermixed with the sand in many different parts, being considered as of little or no more value than lead, and, as such, would have been blown out of my gun, had that article run short. I likewise saw it lie in many other parts of our journey, which persuades me to believe, that gold lies near the surface, without a vein running downwards, as, in such case, it would be as plenty as copper, and consequently of no more value.

I at various times picked up some diamonds in the sands with much indifference; till, having produced three dozen of different colours, all transparent, with a few of the brilliant kind, every time I looked thereon my youthful ambition was had in remembrances accompanied with melancholy reflections concerning the death of my parents; on which account, I believed myself to have been most justly banished from the society of all mankind to live among the wild beasts, and there enjoy the wealth I had so much longed for, by way of punishment for hankering after it when I had enough and stood not in the least need thereof. Such thoughts were more strongly impressed when at my daily devotion, wherein I was continually resigned, believing my lot just, and myself deserving of it. Frequently musing thus whilst seated on a mossy bank, lying between the hut and the rivulet, on the 11th of April, 1789, I was alarmed with the sound of a human voice, coming from behind the hut, which threw me into the greatest perturbation of mind; however, I hastily approached in a defensive posture, and was still more surprised with the sight of five well dressed gentlemen, all armed with fuses, and swords by their sides, appearing equally astonished at seeing me there, which they expressed with such tender looks of compassion as soon gave me to understand, that, instead of enemies, I had now met with real friends, which they accordingly proved to be, civilly accosting me in an unknown language; then in broken French; desiring to know what strange miracle had brought

brought me there ; which I understanding informed them of in the same language, as also concerning the loss of my companion by death upwards of seven years ago ; which having properly attended to, they discoursed a little. Then, turning to me again, said, if I were desirous of leaving the spot where I then was, and would consent to have my eyes tied up, or so muffled that I could not see the way, they would, in the space of twelve or thirteen days, carry me to a habitable country, where I might, during the remainder of my life, enjoy the company of a civilized people ; which I, thankfully accepting, shewed them my gold, and other materials ; whereat they smiled, saying I should not be deprived of a single ounce ; for both that, and every other thing worth carriage, should go along with me. By this time appeared three other men, with a number of camels from the north, who came to this spot for water to supply them on the desert, which they were preparing to cross ; I therefore offered up my tame breed of live stock, or such part as they would accept for the same use ; and all being ready, with my gold, ammunition, arms, tools, nails, and cotton, they, according to agreement, blindfolded my eyes ; and, on the 13th, we set off at a pretty good rate, as I apprehended by the motion of the beast whereon I sat, covered with an oil-skin coat made of silk, as was every other person, having also light tents of the same materials, that stood proof against the wet ; but took very little rest till the 19th, when, having reached the verdure by my account, they incamped for the space of ten or twelve hours ; then they pursued their route over the grass till the 25th, when I was conducted to a feather bed to repose on, which appeared so much like the delusion of a dream, that I could not sleep ; and much more so the next day, when, having the bandage taken off, I beheld myself in the midst of a large, beautiful, and elegant, city, inferior to none I had ever seen for grandeur ; the whole forming one regular circle of about twenty miles, with twenty-four capital streets, running from the center to the out-skirts, at an equal distance from each other, and a third of that number regularly crossing them, by circling round the town, also at an equal distance from each other. The town-house was a most noble structure, wherein the city business was transacted ; it stood in the center, being the highest part thereof, whence I could see the twenty-four streets, all running in a straight line to the country, from as many windows facing each of them. Ninety-six octagon buildings, of equal height and magnitude likewise appeared in view, with an image representing the sun, either plated or gilt, on the top of each ; which with a far greater number of other elegant structures and obelisks,

on the flat roofs of almost every house, which were covered with shining metal of various colours; at first sight gave the whole a most brilliant appearance.

In the midst of this surprise I was carefully examined before the sovereign prince, concerning the customs, manners, numbers, and situation, of the inhabitants I had met with, from the first of my landing on the continent, to the time they found me at the hut; but, their French being imperfect, I was a considerable time in making them to understand me properly. When, fully convinced of the great distance the Blacks lived from the hut, as also of their being so thinly strewed, without fire-arms, or other weapons of defence, a secret pleasure seemed to overspread the countenance of his majesty and all present. Many other questions were then asked concerning the French, English, and other European powers, all of which I answered to the best of my judgement, and was dismissed, with orders to continue within the circle of the city, as their laws would not as yet permit me to exceed those bounds. The houses were all built of brick, three stories high, being covered and railed about the top with different sorts of metal, whereon the people usually amused themselves in the cool of the evening, appearing to live in the greatest harmony with each other; neither was their good-will to strangers less, as I was every where entertained freely with the best, without payment, and never refused admittance to the top of any house whatever, which furnished me with an opportunity of seeing the country, which was well stocked with houses, towns, and bridges, on every side, as also vineyards, gardens, corn-meadows, pasture and other green fields, with an innumerable quantity of camels, dromedaries, and horses. Upon the 24 capital roads I saw some laden with burdens, and others yoked in wheel carriages, bringing provisions and merchandise to and from the city: coaches, chaises, chairs, and other machines of that kind, being seldom used, except by such as could not walk; I therefore saw but few of them. Their common diet was fish, flesh, and fowl with butter, cheese, milk, fruits, roots, and herbs, in the greatest variety, which in dressing they made extremely palatable, or my having been so long without salt caused me to think so. They likewise had tea, chocolate, and sugar, with rum, brandy, and many other sorts of excellent wines in plenty, but very seldom drank to excess, or disguised themselves therewith. The numerous artists were truly ingenious in manufacturing almost every kind of hard and soft ware, except woollen, whereof they had none, but made amends for such loss with cotton, silk, and linens, wherein they excelled all  
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I ever saw elsewhere. In regard to distinction, very little was shewn to the ruling magistrates, great men, or clergy, more than others; yet all readily obeyed their commands in every point without complaint or murmuring. Every thing I saw persuaded me to believe, that if true christianity were established there, they would be the most happy of all the human race. In the space of eight months I became so far acquainted with their language, as thereby to discover, that unless I married, and were in other respects conformable to certain conditions imposed on me by their laws concerning a determined resolution of remaining there with my family, I could not otherwise be allowed to range more than ten miles from the town-house, round which there was a vacant spot of ground, containing about five hundred yards in width from the other houses, where criminals, for murder, theft, and adultery, were punished in the following manner. The two former being led three times round the town-house, with a label on their back and breast, purporting the crime they had been guilty of, were then committed to prison for life, and, after death, publicly hung in the same place where they had been so exposed; and the two latter, with no other difference than that of tying the male to a ram or he goat, and the female to a salt-bitch, with the necessary labels, and every other part of the punishment as inflicted on the former; nay, such an aversion had they from the spilling of human blood, that, by their own account, no sort of criminals were ever put to death by their laws; and, according to tradition, a most plentiful country beyond the deserts had, upwards of three thousand years ago, been quite forsaken by their ancestors, in order to avoid spilling the blood of some neighbouring enemy that made war against them. They, with their wives and families, made shift to cross the deserts to this place, where their posterity have flourished ever since, and lived peaceably together, without meeting with

any molestation from troublesome neighbours; and their situation being still unknown to other nations, they, to prevent disputes and quarrels with them, choose to keep so. Hence, it appears the only reason they had, for confining me within such narrow bounds, was fear lest I should find my way to any other nation, and, by making their situation known, involve them in future broils.

They all agreed to its being handed down from their ancestors, that two strangers came amongst them about 100 years ago, one of whom was a Frenchman, who married the princess, and lived there highly respected for something more than twenty years, during which time, several persons learned to converse in his language, some relics whereof still remained among the courtiers; and, the other being suspected of treachery, every necessary caution that could be made use of, to prevent his designs from taking place, was practised, yet he made the attempt, and, failing therein, shot himself through the head with a pistol.

They stile themselves the Five Tribes, and were distinguishable by as many different sorts of dress. They were of a brown complexion; but their origin I could not trace out. Upon the whole, in making love to a female, with an intent to marry, and have my bounds enlarged, I made use of such innocent freedom as would sooner have been approved of than deemed a fault in Britain; for which I was accused before the ruling magistrate, who, giving ear to the charge, it was made good: whereupon I was committed to prison for life, as a capital offender against their laws, on the 5th of March, 1750. My wealth, being left to my own disposal, now became useful. Gold was so plenty among them as to be something less in value than silver.

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In a few days the person who brought me from the hut, called on me, and conversed several hours with me concerning the laws of Britain; against which he at length became sensible that I had not transgressed in the affair whereof I stood convicted; therefore, on account of its having been occasioned more through ignorance than design, he promised to get my sentence altered to that of banishment to a country, whence I might easily find my way to Europe, if I would agree to be conveyed away in the same manner he brought me from the hut. An offer, the most pleasing of all that could have been made in my then situation, which I most thankfully accepted of. He thereat appeared so well pleased as not to part without first convincing me in what a heinous light the crime, I so inadvertently committed, was looked on amongst them. He declared, that the first step which I ought to have pursued was to inform myself concerning their mode of courtship, and in pursuing it might, without any offence to the female sex or matrimonial laws, have procured a wife, by presenting the fair one I most approved of with a rose-bud, who, if she approved the suit, would place it in her bosom as a token of love, for me to present her with another, half blown, that day month, and in case she also placed that in her bosom, I was at full liberty to decline, or present her with another full blown, at the end of the second month; which if she likewise placed in her bosom as before, the match was so far concluded as not to be withdrawn, because they had two full months allowed to consider of it, by conversing together occasionally; and, in case the man took any indecent freedoms during that space of time, he was sure to be considered as a dangerous member of society, and as such committed to prison for life, which, on account of their regularity in that affair, seldom ever happens; the affections of the married couple being the only thing considered, and, the stronger they appear to be linked together by it, the more pleasure it gives their friends. They never throw

throw wealth into the scale let the difference be ever so great, but always approve their love for each other as the only thing necessary to promote their future happiness. He then took his leave, and performed his word on the 29th of the same month, by carrying me away on the back of a camel, with my eyes covered, having previously been shewn the exact weight of my gold, by weighing the same before me in prison. We travelled six or seven days, before we came upon the deserts, and ten or eleven more before we got to the opposite verdure; then, stopping a week, I was allowed to have the pleasure of looking about me in the tent, but no where else.

After this, we had another journey of two days between the verdure and the sands, and five or six more before we got over them; whence we pursued our journey, till the 10th of May 1790, when the bandage was taken from my eyes by an unknown person, who presented me with a laden camel, saying, Every thing thereon belonged to me, wherewith I was now welcome to provide for myself; and then he made the best of his way, leaving me in the open street of a large opulent city, without mentioning what place it was, or even waiting for my reply; where, the multitude I beheld passing and repassing, about their own affairs, on foot, horse-back, and ass-back, with the grandeur of some, and meanness of others, sealed my lips with real surprise; and, while I sat gazing on the latter of these animals, which chiefly carried me since I left the sands, several persons, thinking I was at a loss, came up to direct and put me right; but not being understood, others drew near by little and little, till I was surrounded by an innumerable croud of people; from which disagreeable situation I was at length released by a person of no small authority; whose servant led my ass and camel to the convent of St. John, by his master's order, where a French missionary gave me to understand, that I was now in Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, and thankfully rewarding the servant, I was there entertained

entertained with great hospitality; and, on opening my pack, found my full weight of gold, as weighed in the prison, with no other difference, than that of its having been changed into sequins, ducats, pistoles, and moidores, to the amount of thirteen thousand pounds sterling, with some curious pieces of silk, cottons, and linens. This visible prospect of returning to Europe, in such opulent circumstances, brought the dying words of Mr. Jenkins to my remembrance; and, looking upon it as the entire work of divine Providence, I therefore resolved on devoting the remaining part of my life to the service of heaven and the good of mankind; at least, so far as my natural capacity, and substance thus miraculously preserved, would admit of.

Being informed of three Italian merchants that were pretty well versed in the French language, then in Cairo, and bound for Constantinople, I joined company with them, and accordingly set off the next day but one for Alexandria, which prevented me from visiting the antiquities of Cairo, which they say contains more than two millions of souls; but let that be how it will, in my judgement, the place itself covers much less ground than London, as appeared when upon the terrace of the castle, whence I had a complete prospect of the whole place, as also of old Cairo, and the pyramids, from a different parts of the castle; likewise Joseph's Well, cut in the solid rock for near a hundred yards in depth, whence the castle had then a full supply of water.

At Alexandria, we embarked on-board a Turkish vessel, and after having touched at Smyrna, arrived at Constantinople, by the latter end of June. This city has a most elegant appearance, and is, without dispute, much larger than Cairo: said to contain full two millions of inhabitants, which, by its great extent, does not look altogether improbable. The established religion is Mahometanism; which depends wholly  
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on keeping the main body of the people in ignorance; and that is effectually performed, by prohibiting all manner of books, except written ones, which run so very high, that none but the great are able to purchase them; and this step enables the state to impose on the community whatever they judge most likely to agree with their form of government; pretending to have prohibited the printing-press with no other view than to keep many thousands of book-writers employed, who would otherwise lie idle; but, in my opinion, the real fact is neither more nor less than just as above described; however, the Turks are in general extremely devout, and also charitable, and so exact in trade, that a child may be sent to the shop or market for things of value without danger of being wronged to the amount of a single farthing. The men are allowed by law to have four wives of their own religion, and as many female slaves as they are able to purchase, daily buying and selling the female sex in the public market, like so many cattle, whose souls they consider much inferior to their own, and consequently exclude them from equally sharing the felicity of paradise with them.

Here I disposed of six diamonds to a Jew merchant for five thousand ducats, and bore him company through Belgrade to Vienna, and thence to Aix-la-Chapelle; where, being taken ill, I stopped some months, then set off for Brussels, and thence to Ostend, where, embarking for Dover, I, on the 13th of September, 1791, arrived safe in London; after having been so many years absent from my native land. And shewing the manuscript to a few select friends, they jointly advised the publication of it; I therefore gave the same to ROBERT BARKER, for such purpose, having sufficient reason to believe him truly worthy of it; and also that he will be very diligent in the affair on account of his living wholly depending thereon. 27 OCT 62